

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0123

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, CY
SUBJECT: CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS: WALDHEIM VISIT

REF: NICOSIA 0111

SUMMARY: UNSYG WALDHEIM BECAME HEAVILY INVOLVED IN MISSING PERSONS DURING HIS VISIT AND SPENT MORE TIME ON THIS THAN ANY OTHER ISSUE. TO NO AVAIL--OWING TO RIGID GOT POSITION AND DEMEANING IMPOSITION OF THAT POSITION ON DENKTASH. END SUMMARY.

1. BY UNCLASSIFIED SEPTTEL WE ARE REPORTING HIGHLIGHTS OF SYG WALDHEIM'S JAN 14-16 VISIT TO CYPRUS. WE WILL SUPPLEMENT THAT REPORT WITH A FURTHER CLASSIFIED MESSAGE AFTER WE HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEBRIEF ACTING SPECREP GORGE, WHO IS ACCOMPANYING WALDHEIM TO ATHENS AND RETURNS LATE JAN 18. MEANWHILE, THIS TELEGRAM REPORTS INCOMPLETELY ON WALDHEIM VISIT AS IT RELATED TO THE PURSUIT OF AN AGREEMENT ON MISSING PERSONS.

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2. FROM THE START OF HIS VISIT, WALDHEIM WAS DRAWN HEAVILY INTO MISSING PERSONS ISSUE. THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED CYPRUS COMMITTEE ON MISSING PERSONS HELD A DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE PRESIDENCY WHEN WALDHEIM CALLED ON KYPRIANOU AFTERNOON JANUARY 14. PLACARDS CALLED MISSING PERSONS SYG'S "FIRST DUTY" DURING HIS VISIT; DEMANDED ACTION PURSUANT TO UNGA THIRD COMMITTEE

RESOLUTION. COMMITTEE'S CHAIRMAN, FATHER CHRISTOPHOROS, MANAGED TO STOP WALDHEIM ON THE STEPS TO MAKE AND IMPASSIONED PLEA BEFORE TV CAMERAS AND TO EXTRACT WALDHEIM'S PROMISE THAT HE WOULD DO WHAT HE COULD. FOLLOWING THE FIRST WALDHEIM-KYPRIANOU MEETING, LATTER ANNOUNCED THAT MISSING PERSONS HAD BEEN AT THE TOP OF THEIR AGENDA. HALF OF THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AT WALDHEIM'S JANUARY 15 LUNCHEON FOR KYPRIANOU AND DENKTASH WAS REPORTEDLY DEVOTED TO THIS QUESTION. CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS COMMITTEE CALLED ON WALDHEIM AFTERNOON JAN 15. WALDHEIM'S DEPARTURE STATEMENT CONFIRMED OUR INFORMATION (BELOW) THAT NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED DURING VISIT.

3. WHAT INFORMATION WE HAVE ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF WALDHEIM'S INVOLVEMENT ON MISSING PERSONS DURING HIS VISIT STEMS FROM AN APPROACH HE MADE TO ME WHEN HE ASKED ME TO REMAIN BEHIND FOLLOWING KYPRIANOU'S STATE DINNER JAN 14. WALDHEIM TOLD ME THAT HE HAD HAD A PRIVATE ECHANGE ON MISSING PERSONS WITH ECEVIT AT DINNER IN ANKARA. ECEVIT HAD SEEMED AWARE OF THE CURRENT STATE OF THE US NEGOTIATION, HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT, AND TOLD WALDHEIM HE HOPED THE LATTER WOULD BE ABLE TO WRAP UP AGREEMENT DURING HIS NICOSIA VISIT.

4. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE ECEVIT CONVERSATION, WALDHEIM SAID HE HAD BEEN SURPRISED DURING IS EARLY EVENING CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH (JAN 14) WHEN DENKTASH HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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SAID HE WAS STILL WAITING TO RECEIVE, THROUGH GOT, AN ASSURANCE THAT ICRC WOULD OPERATE ONLY ON A CONSENSUS BASIS.

5. WALDHEIM SAID AGREEMENT ON MISSING PERSONS WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO KYPRIANOU. IT WAS IN THE HOPE OF OBTAINING SUCH AGREEMENT THAT KYPRIANOU HAD SHIFTED HIS STAND ON MEETING DENKTASH FOR LUNCHEON THE FOLLOWING DAY. WALDHEIM SAID HE FELT WE SHOULD LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED, DRAWING ON THE POSITION ECEVIT HAD COMMUNICATED TO HIM, TO GET AGREEMENT BY THE FOLLOWING NOON. HE ASKED IF I COULD ARRANGE TO HAVE AMBASSADOR SPIERS TELEPHONE ECEVIT TO GET THE REQUISITE INSTRUCTION SENT TO DENKTASH. I SUGGESTED INSTEAD THAT SYG SEND GORGE TO TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON EITHER THAT SAME EVENING OR FIRST THING JAN 15. ONHON, I NOTED, HAD A DIRECT LINE TO ANKARA AND MIGHT CONCEIVABLY BE ABLE TO REMOVE THE OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT EVEN AT THIS ELEVENTH HOUR. THE OBSTACLE, I SUGGESTED TO WALDHEIM, SEEMED TO BE BETWEEN ECEVIT AND CAREER OFFICERS IN THE GOT MFA. WITH AMEMBASSY ANKARA LATTER HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT ECEVIT CANNOT BE BOTHERED ON DETAILS AT THIS JUNCTURE AND THE TURKISH SIDE CANNOT MOVE BEYOND AN

EARLIER VERSION OF TERMS OF REFERENCE (WORKING PAPER NO. 3, REV 3). I NOTED THIS VERSION HAD BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION IN LATE NOVEMBER AND IN OUR VIEW HAD BEEN SUPERSEDED BY SIX WEEKS OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATION WITH ALL PARTIES HERE IN NICOSIA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 0123

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6. IN MY PRESENCE, WALDHEIM INSTRUCTED GORGE TO GET ON TO ONHON AS QUICKLY AS HE COULD. GORGE TELEPHONED ONHON AFTER WE BROKE UP WITH WALDHEIM AND ARRANGED A MEETING WITH ONHON FOR FIRST THING JAN 15.

7. BY THE TIME GORGE SAW HIM, ONHON HAD OBVIOUSLY RECEIVED FRESH INSTRUCTIONS--AND NOT THE ONES WALDHEIM HOPED--FROM ANKARA. ONHON INFORMED GORGE FIRMLY THAT THE TURKISH SIDE, AND HE INCLUDED DENKTASH IN THIS, COULD NOT GO BEYOND REV 3. GORGE ASKED HIM ABOUT THE IMPORT OF THE SEVERAL WEEKS OF INTENSIVE NEGOTIATION SINCE REV 3 WHICH HAD LED TO THE PRESENT AND VIRTUALLY AGREED REV 4. ONHON SAID USG HAD BEEN WELL INTENTIONED AND ACTIVE. THERE HAD BEEN SEVERAL INFORMAL, NONCOMMITTAL DISCUSSIONS WITH DENKTASH IN WHICH THE LATTER HAD GENERATED IDEAS WHICH AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD HELPFULLY TRIED TO GET DOWN IN WRITING. BUT, ONHON ASSERTED AT NO TIME HAD THERE BEEN ANYTHING THAT HAD COMMITTED DENKTASH TO GO BEYOND REV 3.

8. IN A MORE GENERAL SENSE, ONHON LET GORGE

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UNDERSTAND THAT THE MISSION PERSONS NEGOTIATION HAD TAKEN PLACE WITHIN THE TUBRIC OF A BORADER AGREEMENT WITH THE US ON CYPRUS STEPS THAT COULD LEAD TO POSITIVE ACTION BY WASHINGTON ON THE TURKISH DCA. THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN SUPERSEDED BY THE ADVENT OF THE ECEVIT GOVT AND ECEVIT'S DECISIVE NEW POLICY APPROACH.

9. IN REPORTING FOREGOING TO ME, GORGE SAID THE "BUREAUCRATS IN ANKARA WHO ARE TRYING TO GET ECEVIT UNDER CONTROL" HAD DONE THE SAME THING TO WALDHEIM ON HIS DISCUSSIONS LOOKING TOWARD A REOPENING OF NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. GORGE SAID CONFIDENTIALLY THAT THE AUGURIES HAD LOOKED GOOD WHEN WALDHEIM WAS IN ANKARA AND TALKING AT SENIOR LEVELS, BUT BY THE TIME HE REACHED NICOSIA THE TURKS HAD GONE BACK TO THEIR STARTING POINT (50 PERCENT MANAGEMENT CONTROL, ETC.), AND IT SEEMED LIKELY THAT SYG WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE PROGRESS ON THAT ISSUE, EITHER, DURING HIS PRESENT VISIT.

10. AT DENKTASH'S DINNER FOR WALDHEIM JAN 15, I LET "FONMIN" CHELIK, NEGOTIATOR ONAN, AND TFSC'S NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE ATALAY KNOW WHAT I THOUGHT OF GOT'S BLAND ATTEMPT TO DISAVOW DENKTASH COMMITMENTS AND THE NEGOTIATION IN WHICH HE HAD BEEN INVOLVED OVER SEVERAL WEEKS. ATALAY, SURPRISED AND UNINFORMED, SAID EVERYONE KNEW REV 3 HAD BEEN DEAD SINCE LATE NOVEMBER. THEY PASSED THE WORD TO DENKTASH, AND AT THE END OF THE DINNER DENKTASH SAID WITH GOOD HUMOR THAT HE EXPECTED HE WOULD BE HEARING FROM ME AGAIN ON THIS AFTER WALDHEIM'S DEPARTURE AND ECEVIT'S VOT OF CONFIDENCE.
CRAWFORD

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